`CHAPTER- 3

LEXICAL REDUPLICATION

`CHAPTER- 3

LEXICAL REDUPLICATION

3.1 Lexical Reduplication:

Lexical reduplication refers to the repetition of any sequence of phonological units comprising a word. In lexical reduplication two identical or non-identical phonemic words are formed in a minimally not meaningful and becomes lexical reduplication.

A Parimalagantham describes Lexical reduplication as *"Lexical reduplication, unlike Morphological reduplication, is not minimally meaningful and thus can be further divided as they are formed of two identical words or two non-identical phonological words".*[1]

Abbi defines as "*Complete Lexical Reduplication is constituted of two identical (bimodal) words, Ex.: baiThe baiThe 'while sitting' in Hindi. Partial Lexical reduplication, on the other hand, is constituted of partial repetition of a word either phonologically or semantically. Echo words such as khana vana 'food etc. or compounds such as khana-pina (eat+drink) "Standard of living" are case of partial reduplication.*"[2] In Bodo and Assamese languages, the lexical reduplication is more productive.

---

[1] Parimalagantham.A.(2008). *A Study of Structural Reduplication in Tamil and Telugu*. School of Language Development, P.S. Telugu University, Hyderabad.p.25

[2] Extracted from: Parimalagantham.A.(2008). *A Study of Structural Reduplication in Tamil and Telugu*. School of Language Development, P.S. Telugu University, Hyderabad.pp. 24,25.

3.2 Types of Lexical Reduplication in Bodo and Assamese:

In Bodo and Assamese languages Lexical Reduplication is divided into three types;

    (a) Echo-Formation,

    (b)   Compounds and

    (c) Word Reduplication

These are analyzed below:

3.2.1 Echo-Formation in Bodo and Assamese:

Echo-Formation is one of the major kinds of reduplication. It is an important part of lexical reduplication. Echo word does not stand semantically independent, but is phonologically associated with the base word. While Echo reduplication the word is phonologically similar to the base word except for the onset vowel in Bodo and Assamese languages. The Echo-words do not have their specific meanings of their own. They added some more to the meaning of the base words. The meanings conveyed by the Echo-formation are "etc.," "and the like" "things associated with" etc.

A. Parimalagantham defines *"The partial repetition of a phoneme or a syllable of the base word may be called as echo-formation. In other words, if the initial phoneme or a syllable of the base word is replaced by another phoneme or syllable which has neither may individual occurrence nor any individual occurrence nor any meaning of its own this replacement may be called as echo-formations."[3]*

---

[3] Parimalagantham.A.(2008). *A Study of Structural Reduplication in Tamil and Telugu*. School of Language Development, P.S. Telugu University, Hyderabad.p.25.

Abbi defines, *"An echo word has been defined as a partially repeated form of the base word partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme (which can either be a consonant or a vowel) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or syllable."* She also states: *"An echo construction thus can be defined as the construction in which the base word is followed (in rare cases preceded also) by an echo word. The echo word has neither any individual occurrence nor any meaning of its own in the language. It acquires the status of a meaningful element only after it is attached to a word."[4]*

Satarupa Dattamajumdar treats *Echo formation is a phonological copying of the base element (which is meaningful in the language) followed by suffixation or prefixation of the copied part to the base element, which in turn is followed by some alteration in the phonological shape of the copied part."[5]*

Upendra Nath Goswami opines *that "the echo-words are those in which a word is 'repeated partially and the idea of etcetera and things similar to or assimilated with that, is expressed.'"[6]*

3.2.1.1 Types of Echo-Formation in Bodo and Assamese:

In Bodo language Daithun Baro divides the Echo-Formation in three types. These are given below:

*(1) In the first type of echo-formation the initial phoneme or syllable that starts with consonant phonemes except /s '*स*/ consonant.*

*(2) The second type of echo-formation in Bodo is, the initial phoneme or syllable that begins with /s '*स*'/, is replaced by /t*h* '*थ*'/ in the echo form.*

---

[4] Extracted from: Baro, Daithun.(2018). Process of Reduplication in Bodo.Gauhati University, Department of Bodo. pp. 107,108.

[5] Dattamajumdar, Satarupa. (1999). A Contrastive Study of the Reduplicated Structures in Asamiya, Bangla and Odia. University of Calcutta. p. 81.

[6] Goswami Upendranath. (1970). *A Study on Kamrupi: A Dialect of Assamese.* Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, Gauhati. p. 192.

(3) The third type of echo-formation is when a word begins with the vowel phoneme /ɔ/ then /s/ consonant phoneme appears as prosthesis and when a word begins with the vowel phoneme /ɯ/ then either /tʰ/ or /s/ consonant phonemes appears as prosthesis before /ɯ/.

On the other hand, in Assamese language Satarupa Dattamajumdar divides the Echo-Formation in five types. These are given below:

(1) Alteration of the initial consonant in the suffixed copied part.

*(2) Addition of -**a** to the copied first element of the base and prefixation.*

*(3) Alteration of **a** vowel in the final position of the suffixed copied part. For example: lɔra lɔri, doura douri etc.*

*(4) Alteration of **a** vowel in the suffixed copied part.*

(5) Loss of the initial consonant in the prefixed copied part.

In Bodo and Assamese languages almost all the major parts of speech and the derivatives have echo-formations.

3.2.1.1.1 Echo-formation of Nouns:

In Bodo and Assamese languages all the nouns can have echo-formations. The proper nouns, kinship terminology, body parts, fruits, birds and animals, musical instruments, color terms etc. These are discussed below:

(a) Echo-formation of Proper Nouns:

In Bodo and Assamese languages, some proper nouns are reduplicated as echo-formation. In this context the proper nouns are repeatedly used and the initial phoneme of proper noun is changed in the repeated form of proper noun and the phoneme is echoed. The followings are examples with analysis:

Bodo:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
bibari	a name	bibari sibari	bibari and other persons
muɟina	a name	muɟina suɟina	muɟina and other persons
ɔrɔn	a name	ɔrɔn sɔrɔn	ɔrɔn and other persons
suɯmkʰɯr	a name	suɯmkʰɯr tʰɯmkʰɯr	suɯmkʰɯr and other persons
hɔŋla	a name	hɔŋla sɔŋla	hɔŋla and other persons
sudem	a name	sudem tʰudem	sudem and other persons
hailu	a name	hailu sailu	hailu and other persons
sɔnaram	a name	sɔnaram tʰɔnaram	sɔnaram and other persons

In the above examples of Bodo language /b/ is echoed as */s/* in the *bibari sibari, /m/* is echoed as */s/* in *muɟina suɟina,* /s/ is echoed as /tʰ/ in suɯmkʰɯr tʰɯmkʰɯr, /h/ is echoed as /s/ in the *hɔŋla sɔŋla*.

Assamese:

rita	a name	rita sita	rita and other persons
ɦima	a name	ɦima sima	ɦima and other persons
kɔrɔn	a name	kɔrɔn sɔrɔn	kɔrɔn and other persons
mɔina	a name	mɔina sɔina	mɔina and other persons
ram	a name	ram sam	ram and other persons
manɔb	a name	manab sanɔb	manab and other persons

In the above examples of Assamese */r/* is echoed as */s/* in *rita sita*, */ɦ/* is echoed as */s/* in the *ɦima sima*, */k/* is echoed as */s/* in *the kɔrɔn sɔrɔn*, */m/* is echoed as */s/* in the *mɔina sɔina*, */r/* is echoed as */s/* in the *ram sam*.

(b) Echo-formation of Kinship Terminology in Bodo and Assamese:

Kinship terminology is also echoing in Bodo and Assamese languages. These echo words are conveying the meaning "accompanying persons of other relations" in Bodo and Assamese languages. For example:

Bodo:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
abɔ	elder sister	abɔ sabɔ	elder sister and other persons
gumɯi	brother-in-low	gumɯi sumɯi	brother-in-low and other persons
adɯi	uncle	adɯi sadɯi	uncle and other persons
anɯi	aunty	anɯi sanɯi	aunty and other persons
ada	elder brother	ada sada	elder brother and other persons
abɯi	grandmother	abɯi sabɯi	grandmother and other persons
madɯi	aunty	madɯi sadɯi	aunty and other persons

In the above examples of Bodo, /a/ is echoed as /sa/, /gu/ is echoed as /su/ and /ma/ is echoed as /sa/.

Assamese:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
deuta	father	deuta seuta	father and other persons
ma	mother	ma sa	mother and other persons
dada	elder brother	dada sada	elder brother and other persons
aita	grandmother	aita saita	grandmother and other persons
mama	uncle	mama sama	uncle and other persons
bʱaiti	younger brother	bʱaiti saiti	younger brother and other persons

bʱɔnti	younger sister	bʱɔnti sɔnti	younger sister and other persons
pehi	aunty	pehi sehi	aunty and other persons
kɔka	grandfather	kɔka sɔka	grandfather and other persons
aita	grandmother	aita saita	grandmother and other persons
kʰura	uncle	kʰura sura	uncle and other persons
kʰuri	aunty	kʰuri suri	aunty and other persons

In the above examples of Assamese */deu/* is echoed as */seu/, /ma/* is echoed as */sa/, /da/* is echoed as */sa/, /ai/* is echoed as */sai/, /bʰai/* is echoed as */sai/, /bʰɔn/* is echoed as */sɔn/, /pe/* is echoed as */se/, /kɔ/* is echoed as */sɔ/* and */kʰu/* is echoed as */su/*.

(c) **Echo Formation of Body Parts:**

The Echo-formation of Body parts are reduplicated and conveyed by these is etcetera or other relating things of the headwords. For example:

Bodo:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
kʰɯɰma	ear	kʰɯɰma sɯɰma	ear, etc.
hatʰai	teeth	hatʰai satʰai	teeth, etc.
megɔn	eye	megɔn segɔn	eye, etc.
gɔntʰɔŋ	nose	gɔntʰɔŋ sɔntʰɔŋ	nose, etc.
akʰaj	hand	akʰaj sakʰaj	hand, etc.
atʰiŋ	leg	atʰiŋ satʰiŋ	leg, etc.

Assamese:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning

bʱɔri	leg	bʱɔri sɔri	leg etc.
ɦat	hand	ɦat sat	hand etc.
sɔku	eye	sɔku tɔku	eye etc.
kan	ear	kan san	ear etc.
pet	stomach	pet set	stomach etc.
nak	nose	nak sak	nose etc.
zibʱa	tongue	zibʱa tibʱa	tongue etc.
dat	teeth	dat sat	teeth etc.
mukʰ	mouth	mukʰ sukʰ	mouth, etc.
suli	hair	suli tuli	hair etc.

(d) Echo-formation of fruit names:

In echo-formation of fruit names the phonemes /s/ and /tʰ/ take prominent in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

Bodo:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
tʰalir	banana	tʰalir salir	banana etc.
gɔi	areca nut	gɔi sɔi	areca nut etc.
naleŋkʰɔr	coconut	naleŋkʰɔr saleŋkʰɔr	coconut etc.
bɯɹigri	jujube	bɯɹigri sɯɹigri	jujube etc.
lisu	litchi	lisu sisu	litchi etc.
silikʰa	myrobalan	silikʰa tʰilikʰa	myrobalan etc.

mɯɪitʰru	papaya	mɯɪitʰru sɯɪitʰru	papaya etc.
naspɔti	pear	naspɔti saspɔti	pear etc.
tʰiŋkʰlaŋ	tamarind	tʰiŋkʰlaŋ siŋkʰlaŋ	tamarind etc.
zɔlɔpʰi	olive	zɔlɔpʰi sɔlɔpʰi	olive etc.
kʰɔmla	orange	kʰɔmla sɔmla	orange etc.
kʰuser	sugarcane	kʰuser suser	sugarcane etc.

Assamese:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
ɒmita	papaya	ɒmita sɔmita	papaya etc.
am	mango	am sam	mango etc.
anarɔs	pineapple	anarɔs sanarɔs	pineapple etc.
kɔtʰal	jackfruit	kɔtʰal sɔtʰal	jackfruit etc.
kuɦijar	sugarcane	kuɦijar suɦijar	sugarcane etc.
kʰezur	date palm"	kʰezur sezur	date palm etc.
kɔl	banana	kɔl sɔl	banana etc.
kɔmɔla	orange	kɔmɔla sɔmɔla	orange etc.
kɔrdɔi	carabola	kɔrdɔi sɔrdɔi	carambola etc.
zɔlpʰai	olive"	zɔlpʰai sɔlpʰai	olive etc.
dalim	pomegranate	dalim salim	pomegranate etc.
teteli	tamarind	teteli seteli	tamarind etc.
tɔrmuz	water melon	tɔrmuz sɔrmuz	water melon etc.

tamɔl	areca nut	tamɒl samol	areca nut etc.
narikɔl	coconut	narikɔl sarikɔl	coconut etc.
mɔdʱuriam	guava	mɔdʱuriam sɔdʱuriam	guava etc.
bel	stone apple	bel sel	stone apple etc.
pɔnijal	cofee plum	pɔnijal sɔnijal	cofee plum etc.

(e) Echo-formation of Birds and Animals Names:

Bodo:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
ɔma	pig	ɔma sɔma	pig and the like
mɯɩsɯɩ	buffalo	mɯɩsɯɩ sɯɩsɯɩ	buffalo and the like
siŋhɔ	lion	siŋhɔ tiŋhɔ	lion and the like
bɯɩrma	goat	bɯɩrma sɯɩrma	goat and the like
mɯɩider	elephant	mɯɩider sɯɩider	elephant and the like
ganda	rhino	ganda sanda	rhino and the like
gɔraj	horse	gɔraj sɔraj	horse and the like
neulai	mongoose	neulai seulai	mongoose and the like
sial	fox	sial tʰial	fox and the like
dau	bird	dau sau	bird and the like
haŋsɯɩ	duck"	haŋsɯɩ saŋsɯɩ	duck and the like
pʰarɯɩu	pigeon	pʰarou sarou	pigeon and the like
pʰesa	owl	pʰesa sesa	owl and the like

| dawbɔ | heron | dawbɔ sawbɔ | heron and the like |
| sigun | vulture | sigun tʰigun | vulture and the like |

Assamese:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
kʰap	snake	kʰap sap	snake and the like
bandɔr	monkey	bandɔr sandɔr	monkey and the like
ɦati	elephant	ɦati sati	elephant and the like
kukur	dog	kukur sukur	dog and the like
gɔr	rhino	gɔr sɔr	rhino and the like
gɔru	cow	gɔru sɔru	cow and the like
gʰora	horse	gʰora sɔra	horse and the like
gʰɔrijal	gavial	gʰɔrijal sɔrijal	gavial and the like
mekuri	cat	mekuri sekuri	cat and the like
neul	mongoose	neul seul	mongoose and the like
nigɔni	mouse	nigɔni sigɔni	mouse and the like
sagɔli	goat	sagɔli tagɔli	goat and the like
sɔrai	bird	sɔraj tɔrai	bird and the like
patiɦaɦ	mallard duck	patiɦaɦ satiɦaɦ	mallard duck and the like
panikauri	little cormorant	panikauri sanikauri	little cormorant and the like
parɔ	pigeon	parɔ sarɔ	pigeon and the like
pʰesa	owl	pʰesa sesa	owl and the like

siloni	kite	siloni tiloni	kite and the like
ɦafi	duck	ɦafi safi	duck and the like
bɔgɔli	heron	bɔgɔli sɔgɔli	heron and the like
keteki	cuckoo	keteki seteki	cuckoo and the like
panikauri	little cormorant	panikauri sanikauri	little cormorant and the like

(f) Echo-Formation of Musical Instruments:

In Bodo and Assamese languages all the musical instruments indicating words are reduplicated.

Bodo:

Stem	Echo Reduplication
kʰam	kʰam sam
zɔtʰa	zɔtʰa sɔtʰa
zabkʰriŋ	zabkʰriŋ sabkʰriŋ
gɔŋgɔna	gɔŋgɔna sɔŋgɔna
sipʰuŋ	sipʰuŋ tʰipʰuŋ

Assamese:

Stem	Echo Reduplication
bahi	bahi sahi
gɔgɔna	gɔgɔna sɔgɔna
xutuli	xutuli sutuli
pepa	pepa sepa

tɔka   tɔka sɔka

bin   bin sin

bʱortal   bʱortal sortal

kʰram   kʰram sram

bihutal   bihutal sihutal

dʱol   dʱol sol

nagara   nagara sagara

dotora   dotora sotora

dɔba   dɔba sɔba

3.2.1.1.2 Echo-formation of Pronouns in Bodo and Assamese:

Except the reflexive pronoun all the pronouns can have echo-formation in Bodo and Assamese languages and gives the meaning of emphasis. These are given below:

3.2.1.1.2.1 Echo-Formation of Personal Pronoun:

In Bodo and Assamese languages echoing of personal pronouns occurs when the speaker is angry or shows disrespect to the person spoken. For example:

Bodo:

Stem	meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
nɯŋ	'you'	nɯŋ sɯŋ	you, etc.

nɯŋsɯr	'you' (PlU)	nɯŋsɯr sɯŋsɯr	you, etc.
bi	he/she	bi si	he/she, etc.
bisɯr	they	bisɯr sisɯr	they, etc.

Assamese:

Stem	meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
tɔi	you	tɔi sɔi	you, etc.
tumi	you	tumi sumi	you, etc.
apuni	you	apuni sapuni	you, etc.
tai	she	tai sai	she, etc.
teu	he	teu seu	he, etc.
tekʰet	they	tekʰet sekʰet	they, etc.

3.2.1.1.2.2 Echo-formation of Interrogative Pronoun:

In Bodo and Assamese languages interrogative pronouns are also echoed. This type of echo-formation is occurred when the speakers are angry. For example:

Bodo:

Stem	meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
ma	what	ma sa	what etc.
sɯr	who	sɯr tʰɯr	who etc.
bɔbe	which	bɔbe sɔbe	which etc.
bɔha	where	bɔha sɔha	where etc.
manɯ	why	manɯ sanɯ	why etc.

Assamese:

Stem	meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
ki	what	ki si	what etc.
kon	who	kon son	who etc.

3.2.1.1.3 Echo-formation of Deverbal Nouns:

In Bodo and Assamese languages deverbal nouns, formed by adding noun formation suffix *{-naj}* in Bodo and {-a} in Assamese with simple verbs can have echo-formation and it gives the meaning of simultaneous action of the verbs in both the languages. For example:

Bodo:

Stem	meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
ziraj-naj	siting	zirajnaj sirajnaj	siting etc.
kʰar-naj	running	kʰarnaj sarnaj	running etc.
pʰɔraj-naj	reading	pʰɔrajnaj sɔrajnaj	reading etc.
rajzlaj-naj	talking	rajzlajnaj sajzlajnaj	talking etc.
lir-naj	writing	lirnaj sirnaj	writing etc.
buŋ-naj	saying	buŋnaj suŋnaj	saying etc.
sawraj-naj	discussion	sawrajnaj tʰawrajnaj	discussion etc.
ɔn-naj	loving	ɔnnaj sɔnnaj	loving etc.

Assamese:

Stem	meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning

kowa	saying	kowa sowa	saying etc.
kɔra	doing	kɔra sɔra	doing etc.
kɔnda	crying	kɔnda sɔnda	crying etc.
kʰowa	eating	kʰowa sowa	eating etc.
likʰa	writing	likʰa sikʰa	writing etc.
dɔura	running	dɔura sɔura	running etc.
bɔha	sitting	bɔha sɔha	sitting etc.
pɔra	reading	pɔra sɔra	reading etc.
kʰoz kɔra	walking	kʰoz kɔra soz kɔra	walking etc.
ɦaɦi	laughing	ɦaɦi saɦi	laughing etc.

3.2.1.1.4 Echo-Formation of Adjectives:

In Bodo and Assamese languages Adjectives are used in echo-formations. These are used in languages to convey the meaning of *'etcetera'*. For example:

Bodo:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
gilir	weight	gilir silir	weight etc.
rezeŋ	light	rezeŋ sezeŋ	light etc.
gidir	big	gidir sidir	big etc.
pʰisa	small	pʰisa sisa	small etc.
muɰzaŋ	good	muɰzaŋ suɰzaŋ	good etc.
gazri	bad	gazri sazri	bad etc.

gusu	cold	gusu susu	cold etc.
guduŋ	hot	guduŋ suduŋ	hot etc.
guseb	narrow	guseb suseb	narrow etc.
ruɟza	thick	ruɟza suɟza	thick etc.

Assamese:

Stem	meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
ozɔn	weight	ozɔn sozɔn	weight etc.
gɔrɔm	hot	gɔrɔm sɔrɔm	hot etc.
daŋɔr	big	daŋɔr saŋɔr	big etc.
tʰanda	cold	tʰanda sanda	cold etc.
xɔru	small	xɔru sɔru	small etc.
tʰek	narrow	tʰek sek	narrow etc.
bʱal	good	bʱal sal	good etc.
beja	bad	beja seja	bad etc.
bɔga	white	bɔga sɔga	white and the like.
rɔŋa	red	rɔŋa sɔŋa	red and the like.
lahe	slow	lahe sahe	slow and the like.

3.2.1.1.5 Echo-Formation of Numerals:

In Bodo and Assamese languages numerals are also echoing. For example:

Bodo:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
se	one	se tʰe	one etc.
nɯɰi	two	nɯɰi sɯɰi	two etc.
brɯɰi	four	brɯɰi srɯɰi	four etc.
dɔ	six	dɔ sɔ	six etc.
sni	seven	sni tʰni	seven etc.
zi	ten	zi si	ten etc.

Assamese:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
ek	one	ek sek	one etc.
dui	two	dui sui	two etc.
tini	three	tini sini	three etc.
sari	four	sari tari	four etc.
atʰ	eight	atʰ satʰ	eight etc
dɔh	ten	dɔh sɔh	ten etc.

3.2.1.1.6 Echo-Formation of Loan Words:

Bodo and Assamese languages have borrowed some loan words from other languages to fulfilling its various needs. The borrowing words are articulated as their articulation system. The speakers are trying to adjust it with their articulation system as their own. These loan words are also echoing in Bodo and Assamese languages.

3.2.1.1.6.1 Echo-Formation of Loan Words in Bodo:

Bodo language has many loan words borrowing from different languages. For example: Assamese, Bengali, and English etc. The Echo-formation of loan words in Bodo from different languages is given below:

Borrowing from Assamese:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
kɔpal	forehead/luck	kɔpal sɔpal	forehead etc.
bepar	business	bepar separ	business etc.
din	day	din sin	day etc.
deha	health	deha seha	health etc.
hazira	labor	hazira sazira	labor and etc.

Borrowing from Bengali:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
alda	separate	alada salada	separate etc.
hɔrtal	stoppage of all work	hɔrtal sɔrtal	stoppage of all work etc.

Borrowing from English:

Stem	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
office	ɔpʰis sɔpʰis	office etc.
glass	gilas silas	glass etc.
mobile	mɔbail sɔbail	mobile etc.
school	iskʰul siskʰul	school etc.

football	pʰutbɔl sutbɔl	football etc.
number	nambar sambar	nuber etc.
degree	digri sigri	degree etc.

3.2.1.1.6.2 Echo-Formation of Loan Words in Assamese:

Like the Bodo language in Assamese language also borrowed some loan words from different languages. The Echo words of borrowing loan words of Assamese are given below:

Borrowing from Bodo:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
zaŋkʰla	ladder	zɔkʰɔla sɔkʰɔla	ladder etc.
kʰɔkʰa	fishing tool	kʰukʰa sukʰa	fishing tool etc.

Borrowing from Bengali:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
arsi	mirror	arsi sarsi	mirror etc.
siŋgara	samosa	siŋra tiŋra	samosa etc.
rɔsi	rope	rɔsi sɔsi	rope etc.
xɔdɔr	district headquarter	xɔdɔr sɔdɔr	district headquarter etc.
botam	button	butam sutam	button etc.

Borrowing from English:

Stem	Echo reduplication	Meaning
October	ɔktɔbɔr sɔktɔbɔr	October and the like.

Disember	disembɔr sisembɔr	Dicember and the like.
Inch	insi sinsi	inch and the like.
Number	nɔmbɔr sɔmbɔr	number and the like.
Bottle	bɔtɔl sɔtɔl	bottle etc.
Ball	bɔl sɔl	ball etc.
Redio	rediɔ sediɔ	redio etc.
Belun	belun selun	belun etc.

Borrowing from Hindi:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
kʰana	food	kʰana sana	food etc.
sini	sugar	seni teni	sugar etc.
salak	clever	salak talak	clever etc.

Borrowing from Persian:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
hahakar	crisis	hahakar sahakar	crisis etc.
mal	things/goods	mal sal	things etc.
mɔgzu	brain	mɔgɔz tɔgɔz	brain etc.
antaz	manner	andaz sandaz	manner etc.
asɔl	original	asɔl tasɔl	original etc.
kɒm	less	kɒm sɒm	less etc.

Borrowing from Portuguese:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
almari	cupboard	almari salmari	cupboard etc.
sabon	soap	sabon tabon	soap etc.
balti	bucket	baltiŋ saltiŋ	bucket etc.
mistri	mason	mistri sistri	mason etc.
sabi	key	sabi tabi	key etc.
iŋrez	british	iŋraz tiŋraz	british and the like.

Borrowing from Sanskrit:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
bɔstu	thing	bɔstu sɔstu	things etc.
zat	caste/race	zati sati	caste and the like.
zibɔn	life	zibɔn tibɔn	life and the like.
maŋsɔ	meat	maŋxɔ saŋxɔ	meat and the like.
ɔŋkɔ	maths	ɔŋkɔ sɔŋkɔ	maths and the like.
ɔŋgɔ	body part	ɔŋgɔ sɔŋgɔ	body part and the like.
ɔdʱikar	right	ɔdʱikar sɔdʱikar	right and the like.
ɔnubad	translation	ɔnubad sɔnubad	translation and the like.
ɔpɔman	disrespect	ɔpɔman sɔpɔman	disrespect and the like.
ɔbʱab	shortage	ɔbʱab sɔbʱab	shortage and the like.
ɔrtʰɔ	meaning	ɔrtʰɔ sɔrtʰɔ	meaning etc.

The above stated examples of echo-formation of nouns are used in sentences below:

Bodo:

(a) bibari sibari tʰaŋbaj

bibari ECH to go-past prfct.

(Bibari and all others have gone.)

(b) abɔ   sabɔ pʰɯiakʰɯi

elder sister ECH to come-Neg. Suf.

(Elder sister and all others does not coming.)

(c) aŋ   tʰalir   salir zaja

1SG banana ECH to eat-Neg. Suf.

(I don't eat the banana etc.)

(d) bijɯ kʰam sam damnɯ rɯŋa

 3SG kham ECH to play to know-Neg. Suf.

 (He doesn't know how to play the Kham and other instruments.)

Assamese:

(a) rita sita aɦanai

rita ECH to come-Neg.

(Rita and all others does not coming.)

(b) tai   am sam nakʰala

3SG (F) mango ECH Neg. Prfx. eat

(She does not eat the mango.and the like.)

(c) xi   pepa sepa bɔzajsil

3SG (M) pepa ECH to play 3ʳᵈ Pastt.

(He played the Pepa and other instruments.)

(d) xi   maŋxɔ saŋxɔ kʰai

3SG (M) meat   ECH eat-Pr. 3ʳᵈ

(He eats meat and the like.)

3.2.2 Compounds:

Compound is the second type of Lexical reduplication. In Linguistics, a compound is a lexeme that consists of more than one stem. Compounding is a process of word formation that creates compound lexemes. In simple words the term Compounding means combining of two or more words together. In Bodo and Assamese languages compounds are formed with two different lexical items having independent meanings.

Ramakrishna Reddy described compound as Binominal or Lexical Doublets. He defines the binominal as "*a set of two words in a certain constrained order, whose members are of an identical syntactic category, (i.e. parts of speech), pertaining to a particular semantic field (or conceptual field), exhibit a specific sense relation between them and (they) may sometimes be connected by a lexical conjunction.*"[7]

Abbi explains compounds as "each constituent word of a compound has a meaning of its own and hence can be used independently in a sentence. When combined they retain their original meaning to some extent." (Atreya)

3.2.2.1 Compound Nouns:

Compounding is a very productive process of Noun word formation in Bodo and Assamese languages. In this type of compound Reduplication, two nouns can be used as compound words in both the Bodo and Assamese languages. The combining of two or more words or free forms into one is called compounding. The constituency of Compound Nouns may N+N, N+A and N+V, N+A and N+V may in reverse order too i.e. A+N and V+N.

---

7 Extracted from: Baro. Daithun. *Process of Reduplication in Bodo*. Gauhati University, Department of Bodo. 2018. p.125.

Bodo:

Word	Gloss	Meaning
gɔi-pʰatʰɯi	nut-bettel	betel-nut
zib-zunar	living beng- animal	animals
na-bedɔr	fish-meat	fillet
pʰɔrajsula-pʰɔrajsuli	boy student-girl student	students
zɯsa mai	yielding sweet scent-paddy	fragrant paddy
bɯrma-ɔma	goat-pig	all kinds of domestic animals
dau-haŋsɯ	bird-duck	birds

Assamese:

Word	Gloss	Meaning
bʱat-pani	rice-water	rice and other edibles
kafii-bati	dish-bowl	utensils
dʱɔn-xɔmpɔtti	wealth-wealth	property
xɔna-rupa	gold-silver	jewellery
zɔɦia-dʱan	yielding sweet scent-paddy	fragrant paddy
gɒru-sagɔli	cow-goat	all kinds of domestic animals
mas-maŋkʰɔ	fish-meat	fillet
satrɔ-satri	boy student-girl student	students
tamol-pan	nut-bettel	betel-nut
dʱan-saol	paddy-rice	food grains

kʰeti-pɔtʰar   farm-field   farming field

3.2.2.2 Compound Verbs:

In Bodo and Assamese languages Compound Verbs are very limited. These compound verbs are representing the meaning of request or order used in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

Bodo:

Word	Gloss	Meaning
pʰɯi-tʰaŋ	'come-go'	'come and go'
lɯŋ-za	'drink-eat'	'drink and eat'
pʰɯipʰa-tʰaŋpʰa	'come together-go together'	'moving together'
pʰɯilai-tʰaŋlai	'come again-go again'	'making to and fro'

Assamese:

Word	Gloss	Meaning
aɦa-zowa	come-go	come and go
pɔra-xuna	read-listen	read and listen
prɔsnɔ-uttɔr	question-answer	question and answer
zani-xuni	known-listen	by knowing properly

3.2.2.3 Compound Adjectives:

In Bodo and Assamese languages two Adjectives having different meanings are combined together and form compound adjectives are slight modifications in the meaning, For example:

Bodo:

Word	Gloss	Meaning
gɯɟlaw-gusuŋ	'long-short'	'dissimilar'
gidir-gɯɟlaw	'big-long'	'big and long'
gɯɟmɯɟ-gɯɟtʰaŋ	'yellow-green'	'multicolored'

Assamese:

Word	Gloss	Meaning
digʱɔl-daŋɔr	'long-big'	'big and long'
bʱal-mɔndɔ	'good-evil'	'good and bad'
bʱal-beja	'good-bad'	'good and bad'
xadʱu-xɔntɔ	'virtuous-saint'	'saint'

3.2.2.4 Compound Adverbs:

In Bodo and Assamese languages, the compound adverbs are formed with two different nouns having independent meaning. This compounding functions as adverbs but in isolation functions as noun in both the Bodo and Assamese languages. For example

Bodo:

n. san (day) –n. hɔr (night) >adv. san-hɔr (day and night)

n. pʰuŋ (morning) –n. bela (evening) > adv. pʰuŋ-bela (morning and evening)

In sentence-

(a) bijɯ   sanhɔr   lekʰa   pʰɔrajɯ

   he/she-NOM day-night book   to read-HAB

   (He/she read day and night.)

(b) rajua   dinɯi pʰuŋbela   nɔaw kʰamani mawdɯŋ

    raju-NOM today morning-evening house-LOC work to do-Pre.Cont.

   (Today Raju has working in morning and evening at home.)

Assamese:

n. dine (day) –n. ratie (night) > adv. din-rati (day and night)

n. puwa (morning) –n. gɔdɦuli (evening) > adv. puwa-gɔdɦuli (morning and evening)

In sentence-

(a) tai   dine ratie   kitap   pɔrɦe

   she   day-night book   read

   (She read day and night.)

(b) azi   mɔr   puwa gɔdɦuli   pɔrixja   ase

   today   1SG-POSS morning-evening exam   have

   (Today I have examination in morning and evening.)

3.2.2.5 Idiomatic Words:

   David Crystal writes about Idioms as:

"A term used in grammar and lexicology to refer to a sequence of words which is semantically and often syntactically restricted, so that they function as a single unit. From a semantic viewpoint, the meanings of the individual words cannot be summed to produce the meaning of the idiomatic expression as a whole. From a syntactic viewpoint, the words often do not permit the usual variability they display in other contexts, For example: it's raining cats and dogs does not permit it's raining a cat and a dog/dogs and cats, etc."[8]

The Idiomatic words are also compounding in Bodo and Assamese languages with the two nouns; one noun with one verb and some are one noun and one adjective and while compounding it denote the idiomatic sense.

In Idiomatic words two nouns are combined together to form compound word in Bodo and Assamese languages. These nouns have different meaning. These idioms are used only in case of human beings. These are given below:

Bodo:

(a) mɯkʰra   asi

monkey   finger

'Unsteady'

(b) ɔntʰai   bikʰa

stone   heart

'Hard-hearted'

(c) ɔntʰai   ziu

stone   life

'Long life'

Assamese:

(a) akalɔr   bʱat

famine   rice

'Relief obtained in great necessity'

(b) sokɔr   bʱekuli

a part of a village   frog

(c) bʱat   gʱɔr

rice   house

'A house of growing intimacy'

(d) alaxɔr   ladu

air/atmosphere   a ball of confection

'anything fondly kept or brought up'

(e) sɔkur   mɔni

'Highly valuable'

(f) xatam   puruxija

'Very old/ ancestral'

One Noun and one Verb also combined to form a compound word in both the Bodo and Assamese languages to denote the Idiomatic meaning.

Bodo:

(a) megɔn   kʰeb

eye   to scrape

'To have a liking for'

(b) kʰapʰal   gew

  forehead   to open/to unfold

  'To be lucky'

(c) kʰuga   kʰew

   mouth   to open

  'To talk'

(d) ɔntʰɔŋ zɔ

  nose   to break

  'Be shy'

(e) gɔntʰɔŋ   ner

   nose   to growl/to roar

   'To be very angry'

(f) gɯɟdɯɲa   man

  neck   to scratch

  'To wish to die'

(g) megɔn   bisi

   eye   to rend

  'To give attention'

(h) megɔn   naŋ

   eye   to need/to require

'To attract'

(i) gusthi   ran

   lip   to dry

   'To be anxious'

Assamese:

(a) kɔpal   phuta

   forehead   to pierce

   'To have good fortune destroyed'

(b) kɔpal   phula

   forehead   to blossom

   'To have good luck or fortune'

(c) ɦat   pat

   hand   to establish

   'To ask for/to beg'

(d) gɦɔr   pat

   house   to establish

   'To cause to be married'

(e) nam   kɔr

   name   to do

   'To become famous'

(f) ɦat   lɔr

hand   to move

(g) ɦat   xar

hand   to escape

'To be free form evil influence'

(h) ga   utʰ

body   to stand up

'To be enthusiastic'

One Noun and one Adjective word are also combined together for forming compounding to imply the 'Idiomatic' meaning in Bodo and Assamese languages.

(a) akʰai   guwar

hand   wide/broa

'Extravagant'

(b) mɯɗɯm   gilir

body   heavy

'Lazy'

(c) bikʰlɯ   gɯba

gall   flat

'Timid'

(d) bikʰlɯ   rɯza

gall   thick/dense

'Courageous'

(e) kʰuga   guwar

   mouth   broad

   'Gluttonous'

(f) kʰuga   gɯɹra

   mouth   hard

   'Talkative'

(g) kʰapʰal   gɯzɯɳ

   forehead   bright

   'Lucky'

Assamese:

(a) ɦat   digʰɔl

   hand long

    'Powerful/influential'

(b) sɔku sɔrɦa

   eye   a small insect

   'Envious'

(c) pet   kuli

   stomach   bad

   'Cherishing ill-will secretely'

(d) ga   teŋa

    body acid/sour

'Unpleasant'

(e) buku   dat^h

chest   thick/dense

'Courageous'

(f) buku   patɔl

chest   diluted

'Timid'

(g) muk^h agɔlika

mouth   immodest

'sharp tongued/quarrelsome'

(h) muk^h sɔtur

mouth   cunning

'Eloquent/persuasive'

3.2.3 Word Reduplication in Bodo and Assamese:

In Bodo and Assamese languages, the Word Reduplication is subdivided into two categories, viz.-

(a) Complete Word Reduplication

(b) Partial Word Reduplication

3.2.3.1 Complete Word Reduplication in Bodo and Assamese:

Complete Word Reduplication is the exact repetition of a sound. In Bodo and Assamese languages, it may consider as simple Reduplication. The Complete Word Reduplication which occurs in almost all major grammatical categories in Bodo and Assamese languages are given below:

3.2.3.1.1 Reduplication of Complete Words of Nouns:

The basic nouns are reduplicated in Bodo and Assamese languages. These reduplicated forms denote the plural meaning in both the languages. For example:

        Bodo:

(a) mɯsɯua   lama lama   tʰaŋdɯŋ

    cow-NOM   road RED   to go-Pr.Cont

    (The Cow is going on the roads.)

(b) bibajaria   gami gami magidɯŋ

    beggar-NOM   village RED to beg-Pr.Cont

    (Beggar is begging from village to village.)

        Assamese:

(a) gɒrue   rasta rasta gʱa kʰai ase

     cow-Nom road RED grass to eat Pr.Cont

    (The cow is eating grass on the road.)

In Bodo language some nouns are derived from verbs by adding noun formation suffix {-naj} termed as deverbal noun. These are also reduplicated in Bodo language. For example:

(a) gotʰɔa   gabnaj   gabnaj   lɔ

child-NOM   to cry-NOMLZ   RED   only

(This Child cries only.)

(b) biɯ   sanpʰrɯmbɯ pʰɯinaj   pʰɯinaj lɔ

he-NOM everyday   come-NOMLZ RED   only

(He every day comes only.)

The proper names are reduplicated to bring the attention of the hearer in Bodo and Assamese languages.

rɯisumɯi   rɯisumɯi   'Rwisumwi, you Rwisumwi'

alari alari   'Alari, you Alari'

mɯina mɯina   'Mwina, you Mwina'

mɔnika mɔnika   'Monika, you Monika'

mɔdɦu mɔdɦu   'Madhu, you Madhu'

In Bodo and Assamese, the nouns are reduplicated in the meaning 'to make conscious the strange and peculiar things. For example:

Bodo:

mɯider   mɯider   'elephant elephant'

mɯsa   mɯsa   'tiger tiger'

gɔraj   gɔraj   'horse horse'

mawzi   mawzi   'cat cat'

Assamese:

ɦati	ɦati	'elephant elephant'
bagɦ	bagɦ	'tiger tiger'
gari	gari	'car car'
gɦɔra	gɦɔra	'horse horse'

To address persons kinship terms or other terms reduplicate. In Bodo and Assamese languages while addressing if there is no response then, reduplicating the phoneme of second word may bring the attention. For example:

Bodo:

anɯi	anɯi	'aunty aunty'
amai	amai	'uncle uncle'
abɔ	abɔ	'sister sister'
bazɯi	bazɯi	'sister-in-law sister-in-law'

Assamese:

dada	dada	'brother brother'
mama	mama	'uncle uncle'
maɦi	maɦi	'aunty'

In sentence:

Bodo:

(a) abɔ abɔ nɯŋ mabla tʰaŋgɯn

sister RED you when to go-FUT

(Sister when will you go?)

(b) amai   amai   binɯ   raŋ   hɔr

uncle   RED   he/she-DAT   rupee   give

(Uncle give him rupees.)

Assamese:

(a) dada   dada   aponi   ketia   aɦibɔ

brother RED   you (honorific) when come FUT

(Brother, when will you come?)

(b) maɦi   maɦi   aponi   ki   kɔri ase

aunty   RED   you(honorific) what do CONT

(Aunty, what are you doing?)

To bring the attention of the student in the class room or to keep silence people in different places like public meetings, courts, class room, etc. the word 'siri' is reduplicates in Bodo and in Assamese the word 'mɔne' is reduplicates. For example:

Bodo:

(a) siri/sri   siri/sri tʰaŋ

silence   RED to go

(Go silently.)

(b) siri/sri   siri/sri za

silence   RED   to eat

(Eat silently.)

Assamese:

(a) mɔne   mɔne mɔne tʰaka

(Keep silent.)

While selling the goods at the market places the names of the goods (Nouns) are reduplicate to bring the attention of the buyers in both the Bodo and Assamese languages. For example:

Bodo:

lau lau   'gourd gourd'

kʰɔmla kʰɔmla   'orange orange'

nalɛŋkʰɔr nalɛŋkʰɔr   'coconut coconut'

gaikʰer gaikʰer   'milk milk'

Assamese:

alu alu   'potato potato'

gakʰir gakʰir   'milk milk'

rɔŋalau rɔŋalau   'pumpkin pumpkin'

badam badam   'almond almond'

pan pan   'betel leaf betel leaf'

To guide the passengers in the bus stand and tourist places the names are reduplicated in both the Bodo and Assamese languages. For example:

kɔkrazar kɔkrazar   name of the place

mɔŋgɔldɔi mɔŋɔldɔi   name of the place

bɔŋaigaw   bɔŋaigaw   name of the place

kazirɔŋa   kazirɔŋa   name of the national park

bɔgamati   bɔgamati   name of the picnic place

In Bodo and Assamese languages, the names of the gods and goddesses are reduplicated to imply the meaning of sorrow, tiredness, unbearable situation, trouble and inability. The Bodo and Assamese use the same pattern. So, the examples are same. For example:

sibʱa   sibʱa   name of God

durga   durga   name of Goddess

isɯr   isɯr   name of God

The Exclamatory Noun is also reduplicated in Bodo and Assamese languages to indicate the meaning 'the inability'. For example:

Bodo:

(a) habab! habab! ma esebaŋ sɔmajna bibar

    oh   RED   what how beautiful flower

    (Oh! what a beautiful flower.)

(b) ajɯu! ajɯu! biɯ zɯbɯr gazri

    alas RED he   very   bad

    (Oh! he is very bad.)

(c) haj!   haj! aŋ da ma   kʰalamgɯn

    alas   RED I now what to do FUT

    (Alas! what can I do now.)

Assamese:

(a) ɦai! ɦai! xi mɔril

alas RED he dead

(Alas! he is dead.)

(b) ɦaj!   ɦaj!   mɔi etia ki kɔrim

alas   RED I   now what do-Fut

(Alas! what can I do now.)

(c) o! o! xi bɔɦot bʱal asil

oh! RED he very good Past

(Oh! he was very good.)

3.2.3.1.2 Discontinuous Noun Reduplication:

Besides the above discussion of Noun Reduplication, the noun occurs discontinuously also. In this reduplication process, case marker suffix *{-zɯŋ}* is added in Bodo and *{-re}* is added in Assamese to make the discontinuous and the meaning implies togetherness. For example:

Bodo:

(a) lɯɡɯ-zɯŋ   lɯɡɯ   naŋlajlaidɯŋ

friend-INST   RED   to quarrel-together-Pr.Cont

(Friends are quarreling with each other.)

(b) gɔtʰɔzɯŋ   gɔtʰɔ   bulailai-dɯŋ

child-INST RED   to beat-together-Pr.Cont

(Children are beating with each other.)

Assamese:

(a) garire   gari dʰakka lagise

   vehicle-INST   RED to collide Pr.Cont

   (Vehicles are colliding with each other.)

3.2.3.1.3 Reduplication of Complete Words of Pronouns:

   Personal pronoun, reflexive pronoun, interrogative pronoun, relative pronoun etc. are some of the pronouns functioning in Bodo and Assamese languages.

3.2.3.1.3.1 Reduplication of Complete Words of Personal Pronouns:

   In Bodo language the 1st person singular form *aŋ* 'I' and the plural form *zɯŋ* 'We' are reduplicated. In Assamese language first person singular form *mɔi* 'I' and the plural form *ami* 'We' are reduplicated. When these forms are reduplicated, they imply the meanings 'Emphasis' and 'among' in Bodo and Assamese languages. For example:

   Bodo:

   (a) aŋ   aŋni   bizabkʰou labɯgɯn

      I   RED-GEN book   to bring FUT

      (I will bring my book.)

   (b) zɯŋ.. zɯŋ   pʰɯipʰingɯn

      we   RED   to come-re-FUT

      (We will come back.)

   Assamese:

   (a) mɔi…mɔi   gɔisilu

I   RED   went

(I went.)

(b) ami   ami kɔrim

we   RED do FUT

(We…we will do.)

The second person Singular pronoun in Bodo *nɯŋ* (you) and *tumi* (you) in Assamese are reduplicated and it implies the meaning 'clarification'. For example:

Bodo:

(a) nɯŋ   nɯŋ   bibari na?

you   RED   bibari

(You you are Bibari aren't you?)

(b) nɯŋ   nɯŋ pʰɯi-gɯn?

you   RED to come FUT

(Will you come?)

Assamese:

(a) tumi… tumi   reena ne?

you   RED reena

(Are you Reena?)

(b) tumi…tumi   aɦiba paribɔne?

you   RED to come can-INTR

(Can you come?)

3.2.3.1.3.2 Reduplication of Complete Words of Interrogative Pronouns:

In Bodo language –'*suɪr*' (who), '*ma*' (what) and '*bɔbe*' (which) these Interrogative pronouns are reduplicated and in Assamese *ki* (what) and *kon* (who) these two Interrogative pronouns are reduplicated. When these forms are reduplicated it implies the meaning of somebody and so many different people in Bodo and Assamese languages. For example:

Bodo:

(a) suɪr   suɪr pʰɯɪi-gɯɪn?

who RED to come-FUT

(Who will come?)

(b) nɯɪŋ bɔbe bɔbe zaiga-jaw tʰaŋgɯɪn?

you   which RED place-LOC to go-FUT

(Which places have you gone?)

(c) bi-ɯ   ma   ma bizab bajkʰɯɪ?

he/she-NOM what   RED book to buy

(What books he/she bought?)

Assamese:

(a) tumi   ki ki bɔstu anile?

you   what RED thing bring-Past

(What things brought do you?)

(b) gʱɔrɔt   kon kon manufi afiisil?

house-LOC who RED men   come Pst

(Who were came at home?)

3.2.3.1.4 Reduplication of Numeral Classifiers or Definitives:

In Bodo and Assamese languages Numeral Classifiers are reduplicated. In Bodo Numeral *{-pʰa}* meaning 'one' is added to most of the common and simple Numeral Classifiers *{gɔr-, dɔr-, daŋ-, tʰai-, bar-, mutʰa-, kʰeb-, pʰan-}* etc. In Assamese *{ɛ-}* when the definitive begins with a consonant) is added to most of the common and simple numeral classifiers *{-ta, -zɔn, -kʰʋn, -gɔraki, -dal, -mutʰa, -sɔta}* etc. While these are reduplicated it represents one and after or one by one i.e. pluralized meaning in Bodo and Assamese languages. For example:

Bodo:

(a) gɔrpʰa   gɔrpʰa labɯ

CLF-one   RED   to bring

(Bring one by one.)

(b) dɔrpʰa   dɔrpʰa za

CLF-one   RED   to eat

(Eat one by one.)

(c) tʰaipʰa   tʰaipʰa   ran

CLF-one   RED   to divide

(Divide one by one.)

(d) barpʰa   barpʰa kʰa

CLF-one RED   to pluck

(Pluck one by one.)

In the above examples, *gɔrpʰa* is used for any kind of seeds and marbles, *dɔrpʰa* is used for meat or some vegetables (potato, onions, beets etc.), *tʰai-pʰa* is used for fruits, coins and also human body parts like eye, finger, teeth etc. *barpʰa* is used for flower.

Assamese:

(a) ɛta ɛta an

one-CLF   RED   to bring

(Bring one by one.)

(b) ɛzɔn ɛzɔn aɦa

one-CLF RED   to come

(Come one by one.)

(c) ɛkʰɔn ɛkʰɔn dia

one-CLF   RED   to give

(Give one by one.)

(d) ɛmutʰa ɛmutʰa bʰag

one-CLF   RED   to divide

(Divide one by one.)

In the examples of Assamese, *ɛta* is used for inanimate things or articles in general and also used in abstract counting, *ɛzɔn* is used for human beings, *ɛkʰɔn* is used for inanimate things or objects like books, car, chair, table etc. *ɛmutʰa* is used for some leafy vegetables, betel leaf etc.

In Bodo language Numeral *{-pʰa}* is added after the Classifiers and in Assamese language Numeral {ɛ-} is added before the Classifiers.

3.2.3.1.5 Reduplication of Quantifiers or Indefinitives:

In Bodo language Quantifiers or Indefinitives words are *gɯbaŋ/burza* 'many/more' *ese/ise* 'little/few'. In Assamese language /bɔɦot/ 'many or more' and /ɔlɔp/ 'little/few' these are reduplicated. These Quantifiers or Indefinitives are reduplicated to imply the meaning of huge quantity and less quantity respectively in both the Bodo and Assamese languages. For example:

Bodo:

(a) gɯbaŋ   gɯbaŋ za / burza burza za

    many   RED   to eat many   RED to eat

    (Eat more and more.)

(b) ese   ese   hɔr/ ise ise   hɔr

    little   RED   to give little   RED give

    (Give a little.)

Assamese:

(a) bɔɦot   bɔɦot   dʰɔjnɔbad

    many   RED   thanks

    (Many many thanks.)

(b) ɔlɔp ɔlɔp   dia

    little RED give

    (Give a little.)

3.2.3.1.6 Reduplication of Complete Words of Verbs in Bodo and Assamese:

In Bodo and Assamese languages simple verbs are reduplicated and the meanings conveyed emphasis and request or order depending on the mood of the speaker. Reduplicated verbs of Bodo and Assamese languages are shows a different kind of nature as regards their types and semantic interpretation. For example:

Bodo:

(a) tʰaŋ   tʰaŋ   gɯkʰrɯi   tʰaŋ

     go   RED   quick   go

     (Go quickly.)

(b) tʰabai   tʰabai   lasɯi   tʰabai

     walk   RED   slow   walk

     (Walk slowly.)

(c) lir   lir   mɯzaŋ   lir

     write   RED   good   write

     (Write properly.)

Assamese:

(a) kʰa   kʰa   xɔnkale   kʰa

     eat   RED   soon   eat

     (Eat soon.)

(b) likʰ   likʰ   bʱalke   likʰ

     write   RED   good   write

     (Write properly.)

(c) kɔr   kɔr   xɔnkale kʋr

do   RED soon   do

(Do soon.)

In Bodo and Assamese languages negative formation is two ways i.e. prefixation and suffixation. *{da-}* single negative prefix of Bodo is added to verbs. *{-a, -ɯi, -la~lia, -a-kʰɯi},* and *{-a-kʰisɯi}* these negative suffixes are added to all regular and irregular verbs in Bodo language. On the other hand *{na-}* is the single negative prefix added to verbs in Assamese. While these suffix attached to the verbs it implies the meaning of negative action of verbs in Bodo and Assamese languages. These types of negative verbs are also found in Reduplication form in both the languages.

Bodo:

(a) sansebɯ   tʰaŋ-a   tʰaŋa dinɯilai bɔha tʰaŋ-dɯŋ?

never   come-NEGS   RED today-Postwhere to go-Pr.CONT

(Where the person who has never visited go on today?)

(b) nɯŋ   manɯ ɯŋkʰam zaja zaja buŋdɯŋmɯn?

you   why   rice   to eat-NEGS RED To speak-Past. CONT

(Why are you said that you are not taking the food?)

Assamese:

(a) konodin nafia   nafia azi kiɔ afiise?

never NEGS-come RED today why to come-Pr.CONT

(Why the person who has never visited has come on today?)

(b) tai   gʱɔrɔt   nazao   nazao kɔi asil

3SG (female) home-LOC NEGS-go RED speak-Past CONT.

(She has said that she is not going at home.)

Besides the above examples, the imperative suffix *{-dɯ}* in Bodo and *{-a}* in Assamese are added to the verbs to represent imperative sense or commanding in both the languages. These types of verbs are also found in reduplicative manner representing the meaning of order or command.

Bodo:

(a) lirdɯ   lirdɯ

    write-Imp S RED

    (Write write / (you) write.)

(b) pʰɔraidɯ   pʰɔraidɯ

    Read-Imp S RED

    (Read read/ (you read.)

(c) pʰɯidɯ   pʰɯidɯ

    come-Imp S RED

    (Come come/ (you come)

(d) labɯdɯ   labɯdɯ

    bring-Imp S RED

    (Bring bring/ (you bring)

Assamese:

(a) aɦa   aɦa

    come-Imp RED

    (Come come/ (you come)

(b) zowa   zowa

go-Imps RED

(Go go/ (you go)

(c) likʰa   likʰa

write-Imps RED

(Write write/ (you write)

(d) dia   dia

give   RED

(Give give/ (you give)

Discontinuous reduplication of verbs is also occured in some negative sentences. The negative prefix *{da-}* in Bodo and *{na-}* in Assamese are added to the simple verb to indicate negative sense and also found in reduplicative form that occurs discontinuously and implies the meaning of 'non-confirmation' and 'disliking'.

Bodo:

(a) za   daza

eat   Neg.P-RED

(Eat or don't eat.)

(b) luɯŋ   daluɯŋ

drink Neg.P-RED

(Drink or don't drink.)

(c) lir   dalir

write Neg.P-RED

(Write or don't write.)

(d) undu daundu

sleep Neg.P-RED

(Sleep or don't sleep.)

Assamese:

(a) kʰak   nakʰak

eat   Neg.P-RED

(Eat or don't eat.)

(b) zak   nazak

Go   Neg.P-RED

(Go or don't go.)

(c) likʰɔk   nalikʰɔk

write   Neg.P-RED

(Write or don't write.)

The above examples are shown below in sentences:

Bodo:

(a) nɯŋ za   daza   aŋ zagɯn

2SG eat   NegP-RED 1SGeat-FUT

(Whether you eat or not I will eat.)

(b) bi   saha lɯŋ   dalɯŋ   aŋ   lɯŋgɯn

3SG   tea   drink   NegP-RED 1SG drink-FUT

(Whether he/she drinks or not tea I will drink.)

Assamese:

(a) tai   kʰak nakʰak   ami kʰam

    3SG (F) eat   NegP-RED 1PL eat-FUT

    (Whether she eats or not we will eat.)

(b) tumi   zak   nazak   mɔi zam

    2SG   go   NegP-RED 1SG go-FUT

    (Whether you go or not I will go.)

In Bodo language the Pleonastic suffixes {-pʰa, -tʰar} can also be added to the verbs in reduplicative form to denote the sense of 'sure and certain' which are show the meaning of request or command. For example:

(a) pʰɯɪpʰa   pʰɯɪpʰa

    come-PLE.S RED

    'Come together.'

(b) mawpʰa   mawpʰa

    do-PLE.S   RED

    'Do together'.

(c) lirtʰar   lirtʰar

    write-PLE.S RED

    'Write surely.'

(d) labɯtʰar   labɯtʰar

bring-PLE.S   RED

'Bring surely.'

This kind of Reduplication is absent in Assamese language.

3.2.3.1.7 Reduplication of Adjective:

Primary and Derived both the types of adjectives are reduplicated in Bodo and Assamese languages. *kʰɯmsi, adra, mɯzaŋ, gazri* etc. are Primary Adjectives of Bodo and in Assamese- *ɔkɔra, bʰal, beja, ɔlɔp, besi* etc. are Primary Adjectives. Primary and Derived Adjectives are pluralized the nouns in both the Bodo and Assamese languages. For example:

Bodo:

(a) nɔa   zɯbɯr   gɯzɯu   gɯzɯu

house-Nom very   high   RED

(House is very high.)

(b) lamaja   guseb   guseb

road-NOM   narrow RED

(The road is narrow.)

Assamese:

(a) rɔŋa   rɔŋa   pʰulto   kʰub dʰunia

red   RED   flower-NOM   very   beautiful

(Red flowers are very beautiful.)

(b) xilto   bɔɦut   daŋɔr   daŋɔr

stone-NOM   very   big   RED

(Stones are very big.)

In Bodo and Assamese languages such kinds of Adjectives are also reduplicated which are not independent meaning. But when these adjectives are reduplicated it becomes meaningful. For example:

Bodo:

(a) rɯmɯi   rɯmɯi zajga

Adj   RED   place

(Indistinctly place.)

(b) kʰri kʰri gantʰi

Adj RED knot

(Thick knot.)

(c) grɯn   grɯn na

Adj   RED fish

(Large number of fishes.)

(d) rɔdɔ   rɔdɔ bedɔr

Adj   RED meat

(Big size meats.)

Assamese:

(a) ɦɔm ɦɔm zui

Adj   RED fire

(Burning fire)

(b) riw   riw   bɔtaɦ

Adj   RED wind

(Little wind)

(c) sɔl sɔl pani

Adj RED water

(Flowing water)

(d) riŋa riŋa mɔn

Adj RED mind

(Solitary mind)

In Bodo and Assamese, the Reduplicative adjectives take the case markers. It denotes the meaning of definiteness or action of verb. For example:

Bodo:

(a) gazri   gazrikʰɯɯu   gar

bad   RED-ACC   to reject

(Reject the bad ones.)

(b) gɯɯtʰaŋ   gɯɯtʰaŋkʰɯɯu basi

raw   RED-ACC   to select

(Select the raw ones.)

(c) gɯɯdan gɯɯdankʰɯɯu   gan

new   RED-ACC   to wear

(Wear the new ones.)

(d) gɯˌza gɯˌzakʰɯˌu baj

red   RED-ACC to buy

(Buy the red ones.)

Assamese:

(a) bʱal bʱalto   an

good RED-ACC   to bring

(Bring the good ones.)

(b) beja bejato   pelajdia

bad   RED-ACC to reject

(Reject the bad ones.)

(c) bɔga bɔgato   kina

white RED-ACC to buy

(Buy the white ones.)

(d) purana puranato   nipindʱiba

old   RED-ACC NEG.wear

(Don't wear the old ones.)

3.2.3.1.8 Reduplication of Quantitative Adjectives:

Quantitative adjectives are also reduplicated in Bodo and Assamese languages. In Bodo *'ese/kʰɔm'* (few/little), '*gɯˌbaŋ/burza'* (many) etc. are reduplicated and in

Assamese '*ɔlɔp/kɔm*' (few/little), *bɔhot* (many), etc. are reduplicated to indicate the quality of verb. For example:

Bodo:

(a) ese ese mairɔŋ

little RED rice

(Little rice)

(b) burza burza mai

many RED   paddy

(More and more paddy)

(c) gɯɓaŋ gɯɓaŋ muwa

many   RED thing

(More and more things)

Assamese:

(a) ɔlɔp   ɔlɔp   bɔtaɦ

little   RED wind

(Little wind)

(b) kɔm kɔm bɔstu

little RED thing

(Little things)

3.2.3.1.9 Reduplication of Adverbs:

The Reduplication of Adverbs in Bodo and Assamese are used to emphasize the verbal action. For example:

Bodo:

(a) gɯkʰrɯi   gɯkʰrɯi

quick   RED

(Quickly)

(b) lasɯi   lasɯi

slow   RED

(Slowly)

Assamese:

(a) laɦe   laɦe

slow   RED

(Slowly)

Some reduplicative are constructed from nominal in both the languages. For example:

Bodo:

(a) pʰɯɟtʰar   pʰɯɟtʰar

(Field to field)

(b) nɔ   nɔ

(House to house)

(c) ɯnsɯl   ɯnsɯl

(Area to area)

Assamese:

(a) gʰɔre gʰɔre

(House to house)

(b) pɔtʰare   pɔtʰare

(Field to field)

(c) pʰule   pʰule

(Flower to flower)

Some adverbs are derived from verbs and adjectives by suffixations which are known to derivational adverbs. In Bodo {ɯi-} suffix is added and in Assamese {-i} is added. For example:

Bodo:

(a) hajɯi   hajɯi

(being lowered)

(b) zɔuɯi zɔuɯi

(Being highered)

(c) tʰaŋɯi   tʰaŋɯi

 (By going and going)

(d) pʰɯiɯi pʰɯ-ɯi

(By coming and coming)

Assamese:

(a) sapɔri   sapɔri

    (Being lowered)

(b) gɔi gɔi

    (By going and going)

In Bodo the likely denoting suffix *-haŋ* and in Assamese *-om* is added to the simple verb to indicate likely to do action of the verb. These forms are also reduplicated in Bodo and Assamese languages to indicate the meaning of infinitive action of verb. For example:

Bodo:

(a) pʰɯihaŋ   pʰɯihaŋ

   come-Suf.   RED

   (Almost coming)

(b) zahaŋ   zahaŋ

    eat-Suf.   RED

   (Almost eating)

(c) gabhaŋ   gabhaŋ

    cry-Suf.   RED

   (Desired to cry)

(d) tʰaŋhaŋ   tʰaŋhaŋ

    go-Suf.   RED

   (Almost going)

Assamese:

    (a) aɦo   aɦo

        come-Suf. RED

        (Almost coming)

    (b) dio   dio

        give-Suf. RED

        (Almost giving)

    (c) kʰao   kʰao

        eat-Suf.   RED

        (Almost eating)

Besides that, there are exceptional suffixes in Bodo language. These suffixes are added to the verbs- *naj* (to see), *ziraj* (to sit), *ne* (to wait) respectively to derive adverbs. These kinds of adverbs are also found in repetitive form. For example:

    (a) -zɯr

      bijɯ   aŋkʰɯu   najzɯr   najzɯr garna tʰaŋ-baj

      3SG   1SG-ACC see-ADVLZ RED   forsake go-Pr.Prf.

      (He forsaked me by looking.)

    (b) bijɯ   adakʰɯu   najgar   najgar budɯŋmɯn

      3SG   brother-ACC see-ADVLZ   RED   beat Past

      (He was beating my brother by looking.)

    (c) aŋ   nɯŋ-kʰɯu ne-tʰab   ne-tʰab laŋdɯŋmɯn

1SG 2SG-ACC wait-ADVLZ RED

(I was taking you together waiting for a long time.)

This type of reduplication is not available in Assamese language.

The adverb of time denoting words viz. - *pʰuŋ, sanzɯupʰu, belase, hɔr* etc. in Bodo and *puwa, rati, gɔdʰuli* etc. in Assamese are repeated. The second member of the repeated morpheme takes the case markers during repetition in Bodo and Assamese languages. For example: **Bodo:**

(a) bijɯ   pʰuŋ   pʰuŋaw   kʰarɯ

3SG-NOM morning   RED-LOC to run-HAB

(She runs in the morning.)

(b) hɔr hɔraw   tʰaŋ

night RED-LOC to go

(Go at the night.)

(c) belase   belaseaw   pʰɔraj

afternoon RED-LOC to read

(Read the afternoon.)

Assamese:

(a) puwa   puwat   aɦa

morning RED-LOC come

(Come in the morning.)

(b) rati   ratit   likʰa

night RED-LOC write

(Write at the night.)

3.2.3.1.9.1 Adverbial Suffix Used with the First Member of Reduplicated Form:

In Bodo and Assamese languages adverbs are also formed from adjectives. In forming adverbs, the first member of the reduplicating form adds the adverbial suffixes *{-ɯi}* and case markers *{-zɯŋ, -nipʰraj}* in Bodo where it is absent in the second member and in Assamese *{-e}* suffix is added. For example:

Bodo:

(a) aŋ   guwahatiaw   mɯzaŋɯi   mɯzaŋ   sɔpʰɯibaj

1SG guwahati-LOC good-ADVLZ RED to reach-Past

(I reached Guwahati safely.)

(b) bijɯ   nɔsim hɔrzɯŋ   hɔr pʰɯijɯ

3SG-NOM   home-to night-INST RED to come Pr.Inde

(He comes to home at night.)

(c) bijɯ   mɯzaŋnipʰraj mɯzaŋ zabɯbaj

3SG-NOM   good-Abl   RED   be-Add Suf.

(He/she has become better than before.)

Assamese:

(a) tai   gʱɔrɔt   ratie   ratie gɔl

3SG (Female) home-LOC night-INST RED gone

(She had gone home at night.)

(b) ami   bʱale bʱale aɦi palu

1PL   good-ADVLZ RED reached

(We were reached by safely)

3.2.3.1.9.2 Adverbs Formed by Reduplicating Independent Adjectives:

The Primary forms of adjectives have their independent meaning and when reduplicated it derive to adverbs in Bodo and Assamese languages. For examples:

Bodo:

Stem	Meaning	Reduplication	Meaning
rɯkʰa	clear	rɯkʰa rɯkʰa	clearly
kʰɯmsi	dark	kʰɯmsi kʰɯmsi	darkly
sraŋ	light	sraŋ sraŋ	transparently
alɯ	pleasant	alɯ alɯ	pleasantly
udaŋ	open	udaŋ udaŋ	freely
gɯzɯn	happy	gɯzɯn gɯzɯn	happyly

Assamese:

Stem	Meaning	Reduplication	Meaning
xɔkɔt	thick	xɔkɔt xɔkɔt	fatty
gʱɔn	dense	gʱɔn gʱɔn	thick
andʱar	dark	andʱar andʱar	darkly

3.2.3.1.9.3 Adverbs Derived by Reduplicating Non-Independent Forms:

In Bodo and Assamese languages non-independent forms which are not having their independent meanings are also reduplicated to form adverbs. For examples:

Bodo:

Reduplicated	Glossary Meaning
kʰɯlɯ kʰɯlɯ	very bright/shinning
gɔle gɔle	repeatedly
kʰraŋ kʰraŋ	rough and tough
kʰri kʰri	thick
kʰlaŋ kʰlaŋ	very much
grɯm grɯm	prosperously
guli guli	very intimate/closely touched
glab glab	loudly
zɯgɯ zɯgɯ	crowd
kʰrub kʰrub	physical strain

Assamese:

giz giz	crowded
sɔl sɔl	full of water or tear
zɔl zɔl	clear
pɔt pɔt	distinctly visible
tʰɔn tʰɔn	worthless person

met met	very heavy
rini rini	indistinctly
riŋa riŋa	silent
tɔnnɔ tɔnnɔ	thoroughly
gʱɔne gʱɔne	repeatedly

3.2.3.2 Partial Word Reduplication:

In Partial Word Reduplication phoneme or syllable of the lexical item are partially reduplicated. In Bodo and Assamese languages, the partial word reduplication found in the grammatical categories of Noun, Verb, Adjective and Adverb. These are discussed in the following with examples.

3.2.3.2.1 Partial Word Reduplication of Nouns in Bodo and Assamese:

In Bodo and Assamese languages some nouns are found in partially reduplicated. The reduplicated forms of the nouns have not its meaning but when it reduplicated with headwords of noun it becomes meaningful in both the languages. This reduplication occurs in initial or final syllable of the reduplicated form in both the Bodo and Assamese languages. For examples:

Bodo:

(a) mairɔŋ-dɯirɔŋ

rice-RED

(Food grains)

(b) pʰagla-zɔgla

mad-RED

(All irrespective of good and bad)

(c) lama-sama

road-RED

(Road and the like)

In the above examples of Bodo *mairɔŋ 'rice', pʰagla 'mad', lama* 'road', are the basic words of noun and the reduplicated words *duɥirɔŋ, zɔgla, sama* are have not its own meaning. But when it reduplicated with the basic words of noun as *mairɔŋ duɥirɔŋ, pʰagla zɔgla,* and *lama sama* it becomes meaningful.

Assamese:

(a) saul-taul

rice-RED

(Food grains)

(b) pagɔl-sagɔl

mad-RED

(Mad and the like)

(c) rasta-sasta

road-RED

(Road and the like)

In the above examples of Assamese *saul* 'rice', *pagol* 'mad' and *rasta* 'road' are the basic nouns and its reduplicated words *taul, sagol* and *sasta* are have not its own meaning. But when it reduplicated with the basic nouns as *saul taul, pagol sagol* and *rasta sasta* it becomes meaningful words.

3.2.3.2.2 Partial Word Reduplication of Verbs:

Bodo:

(a) tʰaŋnaj-saŋnaj

(Going etc.)

(b) zanaj-sanaj

(Eating etc.)

(c) pʰɔrajnaj-sɔrajnaj

(Reading etc.)

(d) undunaj-sundunaj

(Sleeping etc.)

The above given examples are shown below in sentences:

(a) bijɯ lɯmzananɯi pɔrajnajsɔrajnaj gɯila

   He-Nom fever   reading-P.RED   not

(He has not study due to fever.)

(b) aŋha undunajsundunaj tʰig gɯila

   I   sleeping-P. RED proper not

(I have not slept due time.)

Assamese:

(a) kʰawa sawa

(Eating etc.)

(b) pɔrɦa sɔrɦa

(Reading etc.)

(c) zawa tawa

(Going etc.)

In sentences:

(a) tai pɔrɦa sɔrɦa   ɛrise

she reading-P.RED forsake

(She has forsaken her study.)

(b) xi   kɔlezɔt zawatawa bɔndɔ kɔrile

he   college going-P.RED stop done

(He has stopped to going college.)

3.2.3.2.3 Partial Reduplication of Adjectives:

The Partial reduplication of adjectives can analyze in two types; Primary and Derived. In Bodo language primary and derived both the types of adjectives are partially reduplicated. But in Assamese language only the derived adjectives are reduplicated. These are going to be discussed in the following with examples.

(a)   Reduplication of Primary Adjectives in Bodo:

In Bodo language there are some primary adjectives which are partially reduplicated viz. - *rimindla, labtʰɔŋ, lɔtʰɔb, gɔmtʰi, gaide, tʰɔbsi, pʰaŋlɔb, pʰatʰɔŋ, darzaŋ, kʰatʰɔŋ, hɔŋle, zaila, zaili, kʰatʰɔŋ, zamgaw, zaŋgraŋ, mɔdɔ* etc.

Examples:

Bodo:

(1) rimindla   dla (rimindla dla)

    slippery   RED

    'Very slippery'

(2) labtʰɔŋ   tʰɔŋ (labtʰɔŋ tʰɔŋ)

     tall   RED

    'Tall and thin'

(3) lɔtʰɔb   tʰɔb (lɔtʰɔb tʰɔb)

    lumpy   RED

    'Lumpy shaped'

(4) gɔmtʰi   tʰi (gɔmtʰi tʰi)

    grave   RED

    'Very grave'

(5) gaide   de (gaide de)

    short   RED

    'Very short'

(6) tʰɔbsi   si (tʰɔbsi si)

    snub/short RED

    'Short nose'

(7) pʰaŋlɔb   lɔb (pʰaŋlɔb lɔb)

    clumsy   RED

'Very clumsy'

(8) pʰatʰɔŋ   tʰɔŋ (pʰatʰɔŋ tʰɔŋ)

short   RED

'Very short'

(9) darzaŋ   zaŋ (darzaŋ zaŋ)

robust   RED

'Very robust or corpulent'

(10) kʰatʰɔŋ   tʰɔŋ (kʰatʰɔŋ tʰɔŋ)

bony   RED

'Very lean and thin'

(11) zamgaw   gaw (zamgaw gaw)

shaggy/bushy RED

'Very shaggy/bushy'

(12) zaŋgraŋ   graŋ (zaŋgraŋ graŋ)

high   RED

'Considerable size'

(13) mɔdɔ   dɔ (mɔdɔ dɔ)

handsome RED

'Stout and handsome'

In the above examples the final syllables of given adjectives are reduplicated.

(b) Reduplication of Derived Adjectives in Assamese:

In Bodo language there are such kinds of adjectives which are formed by using prefixes with simple verbs and also by using suffixes with nouns and adjectives. The final syllables of those adjectives are reduplicated in Bodo language.

(i) **Prefix+Verb :**

The adjectives formed by using prefixes with verb roots of Bodo language are- guɯ (Pref.) - zam (be old) >guɯzam (old), gi (Pref.) – lir (be heavy) > gilir (heavy), guɯ (Pref.) –zan (to be far) > guɯzan (far), ge (Pref.) -sew (to rot/to decay) > gesew (decayed/rotten), gu (Pref.) – suŋ (to be short) > gusuŋ (short). gu (Pref.) –seb (to narrow down/ to become narrow) > guseb (narrow), gu (Pref.) –buŋ (to be thick/to be closely woven) > gubuŋ (thick) etc. The last syllables of those adjectives words are reduplicated. For examples:

> **Bodo:**
>
> (a) be garia   guɯzam   zam
>
>   This   car-NOM   Pre-be old RED
>
>   (This car is old.)
>
> (b) nɯŋni   gamia   guɯzan   zan
>
>   2SG-GEN village-NOM   Pre-far   RED
>
>   (Your village is far.)
>
> (c) zia   gusuŋ   suŋ
>
>   Cloth-NOM Pre-be short RED
>
>   (This cloth is short.)
>
> (d) pʰɯtʰara   guseb   seb

Field-NOM Pre-be narrow RED

(This field is narrow.)

(ii) Noun+Suffix:

In Bodo language some kinds of adjectives are formed by using suffixes like- -*lɯ, -le, -sru, -lɔ* etc. with noun word *dɯi* (water). The last syllables of these derived adjectives are also reduplicated. For examples:

Bodo:

(a) dɯilɯ   lɯ (dɯilɯ lɯ)

Water-SUFF RED

'Lazy'

(b) dɯile   le (dɯile le)

Water-SUFF RED

'Watery sore'

(c) dɯisru   sru (dɯisru sru)

Water-SUFF RED

'Water like taste'

(d) dɯilɔ   lɔ (dɯilɔlɔ)

Water-SUFF RED

'Slightly sweet'

These kinds of partial reduplicated adjectives are used in the sentences to represent the meaning of lazy, watery, water like taste, slightly sweet etc.

Examples:

 (a) bɯi hinzawsaja dɯilɯ lɯ

  That girl-NOM water-SUFF RED

  (That girl is lazy.)

 (b) bini garaja dɯile le

  3SG-GEN sore-NOM water-SUFF RED

  (His/her sore is watery.)

 (c) ɯŋkʰria dɯisru sru zadɯŋ

  Curry-NOM water-SUFF be-Pr.Cont.

  (The curry has become water like taste.)

 (d) sahaja dɯilɔ lɔ zadɯŋ

  Tea-NOM water-SUFF RED be-Pr.Cont.

  (The tea has become slightly sweet.)

(iii) Verb+Suffix:

In Bodo language many adjectives are derived from verbs by using suffixes, like- {*kʰe, -pʰre, -rɯm, -ga, -kʰɯl, -le, -tʰaw, -tʰra, -kʰaw, -tʰab, -pʰɯd, -thi, -kʰreŋ, -gɔb, -gleb, -dɔr, -tʰa, -ru, -haw, -sib, -slu, -re*} etc. The reduplicative forms of these adjective formation suffixes are given below with examples-

  (a) sɯmkʰe kʰe (sɯmkʰe kʰe)

   Be black-ADJLZ RED

   'Jet black/pitch black'

  (b) sapʰre   pʰre (sapʰre re)

To twist-ADJLZ RED

'Stout/compact'

(c) kʰɯirɯm   rɯm (kʰɯirɯm rɯm)

Be sour-ADJLZ   RED

'A bit sour'

(d) zaga   ga (zaga ga)

Be red-ADJLZ   RED

'To redden/become red'

(e) zɯŋkʰɯl   kʰɯl (zɯŋkʰɯl kʰɯl)

Be light-ADJLZ   RED

'Bright'

(f) tʰɔule   le (tʰɔule le)

To be deep-ADJLZ RED

'Shallow'

(g) najtʰaw   tʰaw (najtʰaw tʰaw)

To see-ADJLZ RED

'Much worth looking'

(h) butʰra   tʰra (butʰra ra)

To swell-ADJLZ RED

'Flat-headed/ round-headed'

(i) rakʰaw   kʰaw (rakʰaw kʰaw)

To be hard-ADJLZ RED

'Hard/ harsh'

(j) rapʰɯɟd   pʰɯɟd (rapʰɯɟd pʰɯɟd)

To be hard-ADJLZ   RED

'Tight/ fairly hard'

(k) rantʰab   tʰab (rantʰab tʰab)

To dry-ADJLZ RED

'To be exhausted by drying'

In Assamese language also there is Reduplication of Derived Adjectives. The Adjectival Derivative suffix *{-ia}* is used in Adjectival Derivative Reduplication in Assamese. For examples

Assamese:

(a) tul tulia

Adj. RED-ADS

'Soft and juicy'

(b) dʱɔk dʱɔkia

Adj. RED-ADS

'Clear/ shining'

(c) pʰɔr pʰɔria

Adj. RED-ADS

'Dry'

(d) seŋ seŋia

Adj. RED-ADS

'Very hot'

(e) gɔm gɔmia

Adj. RED-ADS

'Very still'

(f) bʱɔŋ bʱɔŋia

Adj. RED-ADS

'Open hearted'

(g) sik sikia

Adj. RED-ADS

'Glossy/glittering'

(h) lur luria

Adj. RED-ADS

'Very old/ decrepit'

(i) pʰen pʰenia

Adj. RED-ADS

'Very soft'

3.2.3.2.3.1 Partial Reduplication of Adjectives Having Own Meaning of Primary Form:

In Bodo and Assamese languages there are some adjectives which are also reduplicated. In this type of reduplication only the primary word have own meaning.

Bodo:

(a) kʰɯmsi-kʰɯmblaw

dark   RED

'A state of darkness'

(b) zaibruŋ-zaisi

untidy RED

'Untidy/ dishevelled'

(c) zawlija-bawlija

mad   RED

'Madly/ in a mad manner'

(d) zɯŋkʰɯl-makʰɯl

Bright-RED

'Very bright'

(e) dawraw-dawsi

noise   RED

'Noisy'

(f) nɔŋkʰaj-bakʰaj

false   RED

'For nothing'

(g) pʰerleb-pʰetʰeb

bit   RED

'A small bit'

(h) pʰratʰ-pʰritʰ

firm   RED

'Tip top/ ever ready'

(i) luɽbaŋ-tʰuɽbaŋ

weak   RED

'Faltering'

(j) suɽlab-suɽtʰab

useless RED

'Tattered'

Assamese:

(a) ulum-dʱulum

pendulum RED

'Dangling'

(b) kɔla-mɔla

deaf RED

'Half asleep / dozing'

(c) kɒla-mɒla

black-RED

'Soiled /dirty'

(d) misa-misi

false RED

'Falsehood'

(e) pʰit-pʰat

tight RED

'Tidy'

(f) zɔlou-zɔtʰou

water-RED

'Watery'

3.2.3.2.3.2 Partial Reduplication of Adjectives without Own Meaning of Primary Form:

In this type of reduplication, the adjectives of the primary form do not have its own meaning but reduplicating the base form to constitute the meaningful adjectives in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

Bodo:

usaw-badaw   'impatient'

usu-kʰutʰu   'impatient'

gɯnɯ-gɯtʰɯ   ' perplexed'

gulaj-guzaj   'confused'

bele-beze   'disordered /confused'

kʰasri-bisri   'unbearable'

ritʰi-ritʰa   'scattered'

ridiŋ-ridaŋ   'clustered'

lili-lala   'flowing in several direction'

sakʰɯ-makʰɯ   'dandified'

Assamese:

ɔŋɔɦi-bɔŋɔɦi   'having family relations'

ɔlija-bɔlija   'crazy-headed / restless'

alai-atʰani   'having no place of refuge'

amɔn-zimɔn   'sad / cheerless'

alai-zabɔri   'unskillful / shabby

arɔni-purɔni   'very old'

ugul-tʰugul   'anxious / agiatated'

usɔl-pasɔl   'excited with delight'

tɔlɔŋ-pɔlɔŋ   'unsteady'

ɦɔrɔk-tɔrɔk   'false / uncertain'

3.2.3.2.4 Formation of Adverbs by the Method of Partial Reduplication:

In the formation of adverbs of Bodo and Assamese languages the primary forms are partially reduplicated. The reduplication occurs in the adverbs either initial or last syllables. These adverbs can discuss by the two processes- having own meaning of the base form and without own meaning of the base or primary form.

3.2.3.2.4.1 Reduplication of Adverbs Having Own Meanings of Primary Form:

In formation of adverbs of partial reduplication there are some adverbs are reduplicated which have own meaning of primary form in both the Bodo and Assamese languages. For examples:

Bodo:

1. erkʰɔ-erkʰa

   to pick out-RED

   'By pocking haphazardly'

2. erdla-erdli

   to stir upindiscriminately-RED

   'By scratching indiscriminately'

3. gisɔŋ-gasɔŋ

   dreadful-RED

   'Fearfully'

4. gakʰla-gakʰli

   to break with feet-RED

   'Breaking by stepping'

5. tʰaŋhaŋ-pʰɯɪihaŋ

   likely to go-RED

   'In a dwindling manner'

6. tʰabrɔ-tʰubrɔ

   incoherent-RED

   'Incoherently'

7. dɔhɔm-daham

   a space of time-RED

   'Whimsically'

8. daga-maga

   clearly-RED

   'As broad day light'

9. naŋa-pʰaŋa

   not needed/not required-RED

   'Without purpose/for nothing'

10. najtʰiŋ-najtʰa

    to look this side and that side-RED

    'Looking this side and that side'

11. pʰankʰru-pʰankʰra

    to sell things-RED

    'Selling various things'

12. pʰezred-pʰetʰed

   to get slightly drunk-RED

   'Faltering / staggering'

Assamese:

1. ɔtʰɔle-bipʰɔle

    improper place-RED

    'In vain'

2. age-bʱage

    front-RED

    'In advance'

3. adɔr-xadɔrkɔi

    appreciation-RED

    'With great respect and love'

4. apona-aponi

    self-RED

    'Spontaneously / naturally'

5. usɔre-pazɔre

    near-RED

    'Round about'

6. kɔste-mɔste

    pain / sorrow-RED

'With great pains or trouble'

7. kaxɔre-pazɔre

edge-RED

'By the side of'

8. kuzi-muzi

hump-backed-RED

'Bending the body downwards'

9. gʰɔra-gʰɔri

house-RED

'To respective house'

10. gʰɔre-pɔre

house-RED

'Everywhere'

11. gʰuri-pɔki

move-RED

'Walking about a good deal'

12. zane-prane

life / heart-RED

'With heart and soul'

13. tani-tuni

to drag towards-RED

'Dragging with difficulty'

14. deɦie-keɦie

    body-RED

    'With heart and soul'

15. bʱaŋi-pati

    to break-RED

    'In detail'

3.2.3.2.4.2 Adverbs Without Own Meaning of Primary Form:

In formation of adverbs of partial reduplication there are some adverbs which have not its own meaning of primary form and when it reduplicated it becomes meaningful in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

Bodo:

Stem / Word	Meaning
aunija-baunija	nonsensically
alaŋ-pʰalaŋ	aimlessly
umu-sumu	hesitating
zapʰa-zapʰi	one upon another
zab-zub	carelessly
zalaj-zakʰaj	disorderly
zeze-zaza	without formality
tʰakʰi-tʰukʰi	by chance

nara-natʰa   incessantly

sasu-masu   hesitatingly

haŋga daura   quickly / hurriedly

hakʰu-dakʰu   hurriedly

hajla-hujla   wave like rhythmic movement

hulu-hula   having picked up fully

Assamese:

gɦunuk-gɦanakkɔi   slightly remoured

zɔdɦe-mɔdɦe   without any regard or care

dɔlɔɦ-dɔpɔɦkɔi   flourishingly

ɦɔskile-mɔskile   at the time of need

ɦeker-pekerkɔi   unsteadily

ɦelai-ɦepai   being out of breath

lel-pelkɔi   continuity

laŋkʰa-liŋkʰikɔi   lying pell-mell

lɔri-dɦapɔri   hurriedly

diɦiŋe-dipaŋe   to various uncertain distant places

dɦerai-merai   lying down in fatigue

dɦaɦi-dɦuɦi   by drawing and pulling

dɦaɦi-muɦi   totally ruining or laying waste

3.3 Findings:

From the above contrastive point of view some similarities and dissimilarities are found in Lexical reduplication of Bodo and Assamese languages. These similarities and dissimilarities are given below:

Similarities:

1. Three types of lexical reduplication are found in both the Bodo and Assamese languages- Echo-formation, Compounds and Word Reduplication.

2. While Echo-Reduplication the word is phonologically similar to the base word except for the onset vowel in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

3. In Bodo and Assamese languages all the nouns can have echo-formations.

4. In Compound Noun reduplication two nouns can use as compound words in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

5. Compound verbs are very limited in both the Bodo and Assamese languages

6. Compound verbs are representing the meaning of request or order used in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

7. In Idiomatic words two nouns are combined together to form compound word in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

8. These Idioms are used only in case of human beings in both the Bodo and Assamese languages. Fore Example

<div align="center">

Bodo: mɯkʰra asi

monkey   finger

'Unsteady'

Assamese: akalɔr   bʱat

</div>

9. In both the Bodo and Assamese languages one noun and verb is combined to form a compound word. For Example:

Bodo: kʰuga kʰew

mouth to open

'To talk'

Assamese: kɔpal pʰula

forehead to blossom

'To have good luck or fortune'

10. One noun and one adjective word are also combined together for forming compound in both the two languages For Example:

Bodo: akʰai guwar

hand wide/broad

'Extravagant'

Assamese: ɦat digʱɔl

hand long

'Powerful/influential'

11. In Complete Noun Reduplication the basic nouns are reduplicated to denote the plural meaning in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

12. In Discontinuous Noun Reduplication case marker suffixes are added in both the languages to make the discontinuous and the meaning implies togetherness.

13. Both the Bodo and Assamese languages the Verb negative formation of Complete reduplication is two ways i.e. - Prefixation and Suffixation.

14. From the Reduplication of Numeral Classifiers or definitives numerals are added to most of the common and simple numeral classifier in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

15. The Quantifiers or indefinitives are reduplicated to imply the meaning of huge quantity and less quantity in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

16. Imperative suffixes are added to the verbs to represent imperative sense or commanding in both the two languages.

17. Discontinuous Reduplication of Verbs implies the meaning of non-confirmation and disliking in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

18. In the Complete Reduplication of Adjectives primary and derived both the types of adjectives of are reduplicated in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

19. In Bodo and Assamese languages, the reduplicative adjectives take the case markers and it denotes the meaning of definiteness or action of verb.

20. When forming adverbs, the first member of the reduplicating form take the adverbial suffixes in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

21. In Partial Word Reduplication phoneme or syllable of the lexical item are partially reduplicated in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.

Dissimilarities:

1. In Complete Noun Word Reduplication {-naj} suffix is added to termed as deverbal noun in Bodo language. For Example:

    gab-naj gab-naj

    pʰɯi-naj pʰɯi-naj

    But this type of reduplication is not found in Assamese language.

2. In the Reduplication of Numeral Classifiers or definitive, numeral {pʰa} is added after the classifiers in Bodo language. But in Assamese language numeral {ɛ} is added before the classifier.

3. In the Reduplication of Negative formation, the negative suffixes are added after the verb word. For Example: tʰaŋ-a. But in Assamese the negative {na-} is added as prefix.

4. In Bodo there are six negative suffixes are added to all regular and irregular verbs. But in Assamese only one negative suffix is added to regular and irregular verb.

5. In Bodo language pleonastic suffixes are added to the verbs in reduplicative form to denote the sense of sure and certain. But this kind of reduplication is absent in Assamese language.

6. In Bodo language exceptional suffixes are added with verbs respectively to derive adverbs which are found in repetitive form. But this type of reduplication is not found in Assamese language.

7. In Bodo language when forming adverbs, the first member of the reduplicating form takes both the adverbial suffixes -ɯi and case marker zɯŋ. But in Assamese language take only case marker -e.

8. In Partial reduplication of Adjective, Primary and Derived both the types of adjectives are partially reduplicated in Bodo language. But there is not found partially reduplication of Primary adjectives in Assamese language.

9. In Assamese language {-ia} Adjectival Derivative suffix is used in Derivative Adjective Reduplication For Example: *tul tul-ia* 'soft and juicy', *sik sik-ia* 'glossy/ glittering' etc. But in Bodo language there is not Adjectival derivative suffix in the reduplication of Derived Adjectives.

10. In the Reduplication of Quantifiers or Indefinitives there are four Indefinitives words are reduplicated in Bodo language i.e- *gɯbaŋ, burza, ese, ise*. But in

Assamese language only two reduplicated Indefinitives words are found i.e- *bɔho*t and*ɔlɔp*.